1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Formerly Naiau brought yams and roast bananas to Lakemba. The Southern Islands formerly brought in no roots, and no first fruits of yams. With the exception of Ono these islands were poor and lived on food obtained in Lakemba. But Oneata and Mothe brought fermented food (*mandrai*) and bananas; Kambara brought coconuts and a shell fish called *kekewa;* Fulanga brought fish and coconuts. Formerly they brought chiefly manufactured articles to Great House and these were called "wares of the land" (*i yau ni vanua*).

Naiau

Naiau stands in a peculiar position: Tui Naiau holds it. The island is described by the Lakemban nobles as "the land of our little house, of our kitchen." The people are household servants (*kai vale*) of Tui Naiau. They carry firewood for him on their backs, like women, and cook for him with pots like women. They are not very low; if they beg whatever they mention will not be denied. However, in visiting Naiau the Lakemban nobles freely help themselves to food without asking. In the Southern Islands the Lakemban nobles beg of the natives, or may take by force, which is resented; while in Naiau such actions are condoned, "for it is our soil, our animals; the nobles came to Lakemba and left the Naiau people in charge." If any one is rude inside the Tui Naiau's compound, the Naiau people deal with him. They act as indoor-heralds like Katumbalevu.

The villages of Naiau stand in the following order: Salyia (Nasalia); Narothivo; Liku. The inhabitants of Salia recently lived in Ndevo, but moved to the new village by Maafu. Of old, if a village moved it kept its name, but now it takes the name of the new site. Narothivo was formerly the leading village, and to the present day the chief of Naiau takes his title of Tui Naro from that village, but Nasalia was strong-handed and became chief in the days when Christianity was just beginning. Liku has no position: it is made up of people from the other two villages who went to plant there. The *tauvu* of Naiau is Notho, one of the most noted *tauvu* ships in Lau. (See p. 212.)

Thithia

Thithia was not a Lakemban dependency of old, but a land that "merely was" (*a vanua ka koto nga*); it is as turned round in consequence of wars. Thithia and Ono are described as *nggali vaka-veitambani* or *nggali veitambani*, the word *tamba* means side, wing; *veitambani* therefore means related as one side to the other; and *nggali veitambani* means that Ono and Thithia are subject to Lakemba inasmuch as each forms one of a pair with Lakemba. The Lakembans, however, can give no explanation of the term, except that

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

canoe, the sail was carried round by way of the outrigger with the result that the canoe stopped dead. Hence the rhyme:

Tui Ongea wiri kata:	The Chief of Ongea sits on the canoe;
Me kau saka i thama a latha.	Let the sail be carried on the outrigger.

Ongea ceased to be noble when Fulanga beat it in war. Since then its people are the lowest in Lau and very shy. When the Fulanga people go to Ongea and kill the fowls, and the natives go about with folded arms and stooping. The Ongeans call Fulanga, Mbauleka (Little Mbau), because it is to them as Mbau is to Fiji.

In Ono are two uninhabited islands, Tuvana i Tholo and Tuvana i Ra, the first belonging to the clan of Nukuni, the other to Lovoni.

The men of Ono were once red-skinned; now they are shorter and darker. The inhabitants of old were Tongans, judging from their present habits, for every day they prepare food with coconut cream and make an oven on the shore. Their physique is Tongan. [I have seen some very un-Fijian types in Ono, thick set with straight hair and Polynesian features.] They are good at enduring pain.

Ono has a system of levy called *vatongia;* if the chief fixes the rate of a feast at four yams, a man who has one piece of land contributes four, one who has two contributes eight and so on.

As a result of the murder of Niumataiwalu, the founder of the present Lakemban dynasty, war broke out between Matokana, the chief village, and Onolevu. Onolevu won and became chief instead of Matokana, he also became Envoy to Lakemba. A third village is called Ndoi.

Ono was settled peaceably by people from Wathiwathi, and all the clans of Wathiwathi are to be found in Ono. Vatoa was subject to Ono from of old; it is also, to a certain extent, descended from Wathiwathi. Ono used to "go to Wathiwathi" but Naiatha conquered it and "brought" Ono to Tumbou. Ono was formerly a land ignorant of chiefly ways. Now, following the example of their chiefs, they have learned manners and excel. Many Tongans reside in Ono.

Mothe is a noble land (*vanua vakaturanga*); but not originally, like Kambara; it became noble later because the inhabitants are true relatives of the nobles of Lakemba. Formerly the children of the Lord of Naiau intermarried with Mothe. It must have been daughters whose descendants live in Mothe, since the nobles of Lakemba intermarried equally with the other islands. Mothe and Navuanirewa are said to have a common ancestry (*kawavata*).

Oneata lies low and there is a marsh in the middle. At times the island swarms with mosquitos. The reef is called Mbatiyanitu. There are two villages on Oneata: Wainggore (?Wainggori) and Ndakuiloa. Of old there was only one. The clans of Wainggore are: Longaniu, Tavanga, Tumba, Waleti. Of Ndakuiloa they are Wako, Nakuli, Mbutha, Tumba. Mbutha, now extinct, were the heralds.

Oneata is not a noble land. The chief is called Tui Oneata (lord of Oneata) only since Christian times; it is the title of the district headman under the Government. The order of succession has been Mbalemalua of Tumba, Saiasa of Longaniu, Sakaraia of Tumba, Nathanieli of Longaniu. Longaniu takes precedence. The clans intermarry because they are cross-cousins.

The people do not clap hands when the chief of Oneata drinks kava. The present chiefs originated from Nukunuku in Lakemba; they came from overseas: it is so in all countries in Fiji. Two brothers came from Nukunuku; they came because they had a god in common (*tevoro vata*) with Oneata, called Tui Oneata. They were sister's sons (*vasu*) to Oneata. Manjingi, the younger, became chief; the late Tui Oneata, still living, was his grandson.

The present Lord of Oneata originates from Tonga. He is a descendant of Tui Afitu, who was a chief in Tonga. He went to Lakemba and married there. He had one daughter whom the people of Lakemba sent to Oneata. The descendants of Tui

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

The village of Lakemba is said to be hard to beat at cricket, because it is the dwelling place of Roko Sau. 643 778

Lakemba is called *a yatho,* "one that has arrived," because it is the place where Roko Sau dwells.

One informant draws a picture of an ideal chief: 643

Of old, Tui Naiau was as our father. If people wanted manufactured articles they went and begged of him. The people of Lakemba went to the nobleman on whom they leaned for support, and he would take them with their small feast to Big House. It was hard for the chief to refuse a thing: all the food brought to him was distributed among them all.

The chief's dues were described by the following terms: 643 651

If a chief wanted a thing he told a village to do it. This is called *lala.* [May be translated as requisition, statute labor corresponding to the Sinhalese *rajakariya,* "King's work."] The chief had to feed the people who worked for him, and the feast so made was called *otho.* Formerly a chief killed himself with work on account of his requisitions because he had to attend to the men who came to do statute labor for him.

The *vatongia* of Tui Naiau is defined as "making feasts, statute labor, house building." Formerly, it consisted in planting once a year; for the rest of the year there were only feasts.

The *vakathavathava* is somewhat vague because the Tongans changed so much. It was said to have been a big feast once a year. Each village in turn brought a feast. The term is now used of taxes.

MINOR CHIEFS OF TUMBOU

The head of each clan usually bears a title, which, like that of the High Chief, tends to pass from elder to younger brother. A clan is more commonly designated by the title of their head than by its name. Thus the clan of Narewandamu is usually spoken of as the heralds, or envoys to Mbau. 614 624

The name of the clan of Vale Lailai means the little house as opposed to the Big Door. Two divisions of Little House, namely Tandravula, now extinct, and Narewandamu, are called *mata ni vanua,* "Face of the Land," a term which I propose to translate "heralds." They are the "speech of the nobles." They receive or present food and stuff at feasts and are generally masters of ceremonies. These functions are called *veinggaravi,* from *nggara* "to face," "attend on," "serve," all meanings derived from the fact that in a ceremonial two parties always face one another. The heralds are also envoys to Mbau, and are oftener addressed as Matakimbau than as Matanivanua.

Katumbalevu proper are "indoor heralds" (*mata ni vanua i vale*). They

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

The chief is surrounded by a court of retainers (*tamata ni turanga*), which include his herald, jester (*tamata ni lasa* or *ndauveilakalasai*), go-between in courtship (*ramuaoli*), numerous relatives, and servants. There are also envoys for each island or island group in the chiefdom who are called *mata ki Kambara, mata ki Mothe,* and so forth.

The high chief and his family live in a compound facing the ceremonial ground in the chief's village of Tumbou, Lakemba. The chief's houses are large and set upon high mounds, a symbol of rank. The chief's houses, his canoes and kava bowls are decorated with cowry (*mbuli*) shells, an emblem of rank. Formerly a strip of barkcloth (*tawake*) attached like a flag to the canoe mast, served as an emblem of chieftainship.

The high chief has heavy responsibilities in the maintenance of his clan obligations and ceremonial court life. He has a large number of dependents including many of his relatives and retainers, whom he must feed. Because of the soliciting and *vasu* systems (pp. 62-64, 207-208) he is constantly approached for gifts or loans.

The chief and his court are maintained by a system of tribute collected from the islands of his realm. Much of the tribute is presented at Lakemba by representatives from each island in the form of ceremonial gifts at the marriage, installation, and death of the chief or his near relatives. Collections are made by representatives of the chief or by his sister's son (*vasu*), as when Lakemba takes part in a large ceremonial exchange with one of the other chiefdoms such as Mbau or Rewa.

The high chief is sacred. As the shrine of ancestor gods of highest rank he has more mana than anyone else in his chiefdom. An elaborate system of tabus protects him. His head, the center of mana, is the most sacred part of his person. It may not be touched, nor may his comb and headrest be used by anyone else. (See 27, vol. 1, p. 25.) Only a man of high rank is allowed to wear a turban (*faufau*) in the village. The chief's wearing apparel and sleeping mats are tabu. Only a chief may wear the long streamers of barkcloth (*tchini puli*) as part of his ceremonial, the chest band (*wambale*), or the breast plate inlaid with mother-of-pearl (*thiva vonovono*). Only a member of the chief's family is allowed to wear a hair ornament of feathers (*tekiteki*). The royal staff (*matanakilangi*), presented to the high chief at his installation, is also an emblem of royalty (27, vol. 1, p. 25).

Elaborate rites mark the installation, marriage, and death of a chief. Ceremonies also mark his reception on outlying islands, the payment of tribute, building and launching of a chief's canoe, building of a chief's house, and life crises of members of the chief's immediate family. Many of these ceremonies once involved human sacrifice.

For further information concerning the high chief and his court see Hocart (15, pp. 50-58).

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

396 Canoes from southern Lau were used by chiefs throughout the Fiji islands and in Tonga where there is no hardwood. Tongan chiefs sent their own carpenters and workmen to Kambara and Fulanga where they lived for two years or more building large double canoes to be used in Tonga.

According to informants, the last double canoe was made in Kambara about 30 years ago. However, large sailing canoes and paddling canoes are still made. Since the fall of the copra market large sailing canoes have provided interisland transportation.

SAILING CANOE

501 [651] [439] Large sailing canoes (*thamakathu*) are one of the most valuable objects of ceremonial exchange made in southern Lau. They are paid as tribute to high chiefs at Lakemba, who in turn frequently present them in ceremonial exchanges to chiefs of Viti Levu.

Canoe census

Thirty-two large, seaworthy, sailing canoes on the islands visited were distributed as follows: Fulanga 11, Kambara 8, Ongea 7, Mothe 6, Namuka 0. On Kambara the distribution between villages was Tokalau 1, Lomatchi 2, Undu 2, Nggalinggali 3. Many partly hollowed hulls, abandoned during construction, were seen rotting in the bush; and old, broken hulls were seen in all villages.

Navigation

502 A well-built Lauan sailing canoe is a seaworthy and swift craft. In a stiff breeze she easily attains a speed of 10 knots an hour. She sails best with the wind just off the stern but cannot sail *directly before the wind, because the* outrigger must be kept to windward. In stormy weather the man who holds the sheet watches the outrigger and the sail constantly. If he does not slacken the sail at a gust, the float rises out of the water and the canoe is in danger of capsizing. If the outrigger swings to leeward, the float is forced under water and the canoe swamps. Care is taken to balance the load on a canoe by favoring the outrigger side. If the load is unbalanced the canoe capsizes; if it is too heavy, the canoe sinks. Loads are often thrown overboard. A capsized canoe is righted by the crew and bailed out, and the journey is resumed.

If the wind is very strong the sail is lowered while a reef is taken in the foot of it. In dangerous gales the sail is lowered, rolled, tied, and adjusted to the mast in order to catch the wind. A canoe with lowered sail so adjusted makes 4 knots an hour in a gale. Lauan sailors say that a mat sail is better than a canvas one for the mat allows the wind to pass through and therefore the mast is not easily strained or broken.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

431 to a chief is not accumulated by him but is put into circulation again either through his obligations or the soliciting system.

556 The *kerekere* system prevents accumulation and centralization of wealth by any individual or group and promotes continual redistribution. Property serves as the medium by which social prestige may be acquired. A loss of property through gift exchange means a gain in prestige—the material loss, through giving, equals a social gain. But prestige cannot be accumulated and stored. As a commodity it is perishable and must be renewed frequently. Under the system the rewards go to the industrious and clever man—to the worker; the lazy man loses out. There is social rather than economic insecurity.

SOLEVU

A *solevu* is a competitive form of ceremonial gift exchange of the potlatch type between rival, related groups. The *solevu* pattern involves announcement by messengers displaying the property to be presented in a procession and in a pile on the ceremonial ground, ceremonial presentation of a whale's tooth and the property, dancing, and the distribution of goods (pp. 73-74). A *solevu* is usually planned months ahead, to allow time for making and collecting the property. Payment may be either immediate or deferred. Large *solevu* are usually accompanied by barter between related individuals who are participating in the *solevu* as members of rival groups. Whales' teeth, mats, tapa, food, woodwork, canoes, and sennit are the most important articles of exchange.

Solevu are held between villages or clans. The basic motive for many intervillage *solevu*, especially if the villages are located on different islands in Lau, is economic. The *solevu* is a form of economic exchange, which serves to provide for local deficiencies in natural resources and supplement local industries. At the same time it provides a means by which the spirit of rivalry may be expressed and prestige may be gained. Interclan *solevu* are usually affinal exchanges in which the underlying motive is social rather than economic. They serve to express and emphasize the bond between two clans related by marriage. They are held at marriage, birth, the first birthday of the first-born, and death.

TRIBUTE

431 A variation on the *solevu* ceremonial exchange pattern serves in the pay-
● 651 ment of tribute to a chief. Property collected from a village or an island is present according to the *solevu* form with deferred payment but no equivalent return payment is made although a small return gift of tobacco or other property is made by the chief. Also, in the payment of tribute, rivalry plays a part, for the value of the tribute offering affects the prestige of the donors.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

The tribute system is related to the *kerekere* system in that while *kerekere* is soliciting between relatives, tribute is soliciting of the people by the chief. However, *kerekere* is a reciprocal exchange between more or less equals, whereas tribute is a non-reciprocal payment of property by the people to the chief, and *kerekere* is non-ceremonial whereas tribute is ceremonial. Small quantities of tribute, such as the first fruit offerings are offered according to the ceremonial presentation pattern.

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PAYMENT FOR SERVICES

Another type of ceremonial exchange is the payment of goods in return for professional services of carpenters, doctors, midwives, *meke* makers, and master fishermen. This is a reciprocal exchange in which payment of goods is usually deferred until after the services have been rendered and paid in a lump sum of property offered according to the presentation pattern.

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VASU AND TAUVU

The *vasu* relationship involves a formalized exchange of property with deferred payment which is not reciprocally balanced. It has been described on pages 62-64.

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I was not able to gather much information concerning the *tauvu* relationship. Informants agree that if two villages have the same *vu* (forefather) they are *tauvu*. This means that they may take each other's property. It seems, therefore, that the relationship involves a formalized reciprocal exchange of property with deferred payment between villages related by descent from a common mythical ancestor. Each village has the privilege of seizing property from the other village.

Kambara is *tauvu* to Vatoa, a village near Mbau on Viti Levu. Their mutual *vu* is Mberawalaki. When Kambarans go to Vatoa village they may seize property there and when Vatoans go to Kambara they may do likewise. Kambara is also *tauvu* to Nukuloa village, Thakaundrove, but Nukuloa is not *tauvu* to Vatoa. Oloi in Tailevu, Viti Levu, is *tauvu* to Kambara. Mualevu district on Vanua Mbalavu is *tauvu* to Vanua Vatu Island. Mothe is *tauvu* to Lauthala at Rewa on Viti Levu. Mothe is also *tauvu* to Taveuni. Matakana, Ono, is *tauvu* to Kamali clan, Mothe. The natives of the other islands visited say they do not know their *tauvu* relationships.

BARTER

Barter may be defined as a non-ceremonial form of direct reciprocal gift exchange. Barter is often used by traders who sail to distant islands to exchange their wares with relatives. Also, it accompanies every large ceremonial exchange.

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3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

food and washing clothes for the Sunday ceremonies and feast, and Monday is a day of recovery from the Sabbath. Tuesday and Friday are reserved for work on the gardens, and Wednesday is used for other activities including care of the village and houses.

The mission church requires a quarterly tithe from each member. When the copra industry was at its height, this tithe was paid in money, but was being paid in produce when we visited Lau, for after the slump in copra there was very little money in the southern islands. This obligation, as well as the native tax imposed by the colonial government, makes further regular demands upon the industry of the people.[36]

The growing demand for regularity in economic life conflicts with native psychology. The Lauans, as well as most non-westernized peoples, have a natural rhythm of work which differs fundamentally from the mechanical regularity imposed by a machine age civilization. They prefer to work and work best at irregular intervals interspersed with frequent rest periods, ceremonials, and feasts. This tendency toward irregular work rhythms is counteracted to a certain extent in Lau by the daily recurring problem of subsistence. At the same time even in this difficult environment the natives manage, by living at a minimum level of subsistence, to adhere to their preferred tempo.

The attempt to regulate the work habits of the natives was but one result of the gradual penetration of the principles of western economy into the group. Another was the introduction of western trade articles. Trade in imported articles focused the essential differences between the native and the western economic systems, especially regarding exchange of goods. Both the early missionaries and the government officials frowned upon the native soliciting system. Soliciting

[36] In 1933-34 the usual government head tax of £1 and the provincial tax of £1 per year were not required of the natives of Lau province on account of the low price of copra and the limited resources of the group.

177 797 805 797 461 439 431 656 [651]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

doubled.[37] This commercial development had a strong effect on the southern Lau islands where the soil is particularly suited to the growth of coconuts.

The systematic production of coconuts in southern Lau began during the Tongan regime when the Tongan chiefs exacted tribute from the Lauans in the form of large quantities of perfumed coconut oil, which was shipped by canoe to Tonga. With the rise in the price of copra these plantations began to be used commercially, and their area was increased until they covered much of the available coconut land in southern Lau. Trade stores sprang up on all islands. They were run by Chinese or European traders, who exchanged copra for cash, or for western trade goods such as metal tools, cloth, soap, kerosene, matches, tobacco, tinned beef, rice, flour, sugar, mosquito nets, chairs, and even "Singer" sewing machines. In the southern islands, where no land has been alienated, the copra industry remained in the hands of the natives. Each clan supplied labor for its own plantations, and as the natives began to acquire a taste for western goods, the men, women, and children worked on the plantations.

The sudden wave of material prosperity had a serious effect on native life. Gardens, fishing, crafts, and native trade were

[37] The development of the copra industry in Fiji by four year periods since 1877 is as follows:

Period	*Total copra shipped* (tons)	*Total value* (£)	*Value per ton* (£. s. d.)
1877-81	33,474	457,776	13. 13. 6
1882-86	27,782	312,213	11. 4. 9
1887-91	22,322	195,056	8. 14. 9
1892-96	34,827	309,543	8. 10. 11
1897-01	50,571	492,603	9. 14. 10
1902-06	50,083	621,799	12. 8. 3
1907-11	69,884	1,122,976	16. 1. 3
1912-16	60,040	1,057,058	17. 12. 1
1917-21	91,193	2,294,517	25. 3. 3
1922-26	121,286	2,345,205	19. 6. 8
1927-31	128,532	2,212,958	17. 4. 4
1932-35	87,280	714,447	8. 3. 11

(*Handbook of Fiji*, 1937, p. 73.)